361 13 [491] [166] capital by paved road. Formerly, in the twenties and early thirties, Seris' chief mainland settlement. Now with the influx of the Mexicans, the Seris deserted the place completely as a camp site, although they still visit it occasionally. Distinct in the extensive sand beaches and sand marine flats which harbor peculiar bird, fish and insect fauna.

7. **Guaymas**—southernmost point considered here and probably also of the Seris' historical extension. Nowadays very rarely visited by them and probably only while cruising with the Mexicans. Large settlement, many tourists. Backlands; rocky desert.

8. **Tepopa**—spectacular rocky head just south of Desemboque, opposite to Tiburon. Caves, usual mountainous vegetation, *Sahuaro*. Many Seri hunting encampments and one of the places where the Sonoran bighorn is still hunted.

9. **Coast of Baja California**—very rocky area across the bay—almost never visited by the Indians.

13 10. **Tiburon**—island in the Gulf of California separated from the mainland by a narrow channel called "Infernillo," only a mile wide. Rugged, mountainous. By **Tiburon** is meant an overall island area in distinction from **Tecomate** or the mountains.

[361] [221] 11. **Tecomate**—a water-hole and Seri campsite on the northern shore of Tiburon. Today this is the only permanent site on the island where these Indians, actually only a few families among them, still go to live for part of the year.

12. **Mountains of Tiburon**—rugged interior of the island, reaching up to almost 4000 feet. Usual vegetation cover with *Sahuaro* and other typically Sonoran floral components, fauna much as on the mainland except lacking cougar, bighorn and some other larger forms. The interior does have some "tenajas," that is water-holes and there is said to be a rivulet up in the mountains.

13. **Infernillo**—narrow channel between Tiburon and the mainland, often called locally "canal." For the terrestrial fauna and for birds reference is made to the mainland shores of Infernillo. For the marine fauna is meant either the open water in this channel or to the littoral off the mainland. The opposite shores and littorals are covered as "Tiburon." Maximum depth is said to be up to 25 fathoms.

14. **Isla Patos**—small island north of Tiburon and directly due west of Estero Sargente and halfway between Tiburon and Punto Tepopa. Visited [223] by the Indians only occasionally, mostly in connection with the duck hunt.

15. **Isla Raza**—a small island between Angel de la Guarda and San Lorenzo.

16. **San Esteban Island**—a round island between Tiburon and San Lorenzo, up to 1700 feet elevation. Visited occasionally during fishing or turtle [221] hunt trips or in search of a chuckawalla.

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9:Malkin E-5 (1953-1955)1962 NU31 Seri NU31

documentary data and second, also the archaeological data. The subject matter unfortunately is absent from the first. As for the archaeological data, there is none as yet to date for the area except Giffor's unpublished manuscript. Nor have we the kind of ethnography that would be of help—not until ethnographers will pay greater attention to the naturalistic knowledge of the people. Nor can the matter of the Seris' cultural connections be undertaken with the present material with any degree of reliability, simply because no such material exists for the neighboring group.

However, few suggestions outside the limitations and the main object of the present analysis can be made. From the fragmentary data available I shall try to show the change in utilization of animals by the Seris. I think I can also indicate a few points in support or denial of this or that idea of the Seris' cultural connections. I can also suggest the direction of the attitudes toward animals in the Seri culture, in a sphere which normally we assign variously within the domain of religion or world view. I can also indicate some of the major changes in the Seris' exploitation of general environment. All these can be suggested only fragmentarily, as only small bricks toward a generalized structure of our knowledge of the Seri culture. To this extent the present analysis should be helpful to the future student of the Seri culture and to our general understanding of it.

Procedure

The field work on which this material is based has been done during the summer of 1953, June-September and again for one week in May, 1955. The second visit took place at a most inopportune time, amidst bad measles, dysentery and a flu epidemic which completely disorganized the tribe and persuaded most of them to flee Desemboque into the coastal desert.

The work was accomplished mostly in Desemboque, the Seris' largest and most permanent settlement after 1940 where most of them lived. Occasional side trips were undertaken later to Hermosillo, Estero Sargente, Campo Vivora, Tiburon and some of the other places mostly with the view of evaluating their ecological nature and for the observation and acquisition of the zoological materials not available in Desemboque. These trips had been undertaken in the company of the Seris who then also doubled up as informants.

During the first two weeks of my stay in Desemboque, I did no interviewing but concentrated on the collections of zoological material, occasionally and informally asking for the name of this or that animal. After two weeks regular interviewing work was commenced, first with an aid of Mr. Leo Sandoval, Mexican, U.S.—educated school teacher, but later on entirely without an interpreter. There are sound reasons for this practice. Direct questioning allows the interrogator to evaluate the replies in their less obvious nuances, the reactions of the informant to the question, his hesitations, uncertainties and the like.

In the event of well-known animals with those colloquial Spanish name everybody, Mexican and

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